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AUTHOR Kachru, Braj B.
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ABSTRACT

The debate continues about regional norms for English usage around the world, although the discussion has become more realistic and less didactic. Educated non-native varieties are increasingly accepted, distinctions are being made between national and international language uses, and localized varieties are no longer considered as necessarily deficient. Several trends are influencing this process. First, the number of non-native English speakers is increasing faster than the number of native speakers. Second, planning for English usage is increasingly in the hands of non-native speakers, who have developed their own norms. Third, the development of non-native English literatures is helping to break norms. The complex functions of English across cultures suggest that discussion of international English presents only part of the picture. More serious cross-cultural research on English usage and regional norms is necessary for a real understanding of the issues and solutions. Sixty-eight references are included. (MSE)

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REGIONAL NORMS FOR ENGLISH[1]

BRAJ B. KACHRU[2]

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[2]Braj B. Kachru is Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Linguistics and Coordinator of the Division of Applied Linguistics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

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INTRODUCTION

In discussing the norm for localized varieties of Englishes around the world, we are in a sense faced with the situation described in the entertaining Eastern fable about the elephant and the four blind men.[3] Each blind man, the story tells us, tries to describe the animal on the basis of his tactile feeling of one part of the large animal. One, after touching the animal's leg, claims that an elephant resembles a gnarled tree trunk; another compares it with a thick rope, since that is how the elephant's trunk appears to him; feeling the circular belly of the animal, the third blind man exclaims, "Aha, an elephant is like a smooth round drum," and so on. Clearly, each blind man has a correct perception about an individual part of the elephant, but that part itself is not the totality termed "elephant." It is all these parts together, and various types within the species which constitute the "elephant-ness." And this analogy applies to languages, too. When we use an identificational label for a variety (e.g., American, British, Canadian, Indian, Malaysian, Nigerian), we are actually thinking in terms of what linguists have called "common core" analysis, "overall" analysis or a "nucleus." These terms are as abstract as the "elephant-ness," or using another example, "dog-ness" aptly suggested by Quirk et al. (1972:13):

> The properties of dog-ness can be seen in both terrier and alsatian (and, we must presume, equally) yet no single variety of dog embodies all the features present in all varieties of dog. In a somewhat similar way, we need to see a common core or nucleus that we call "English" being realized only in the different actual varieties of the language that we hear or read.

The global spread of English and its various functions in the sociolinguistic context of each English-speaking country make generalizations about the language almost impossible. Because each regional variety of English has its distinct historical, acquisitional and cultural context, the genesis of each variety must be seen within that perspective. The generalizations from one localized variety are as deceptive as the blind men's description of the elephant. At the same time, each description contributes to our understanding of the *Englishness* of world Englishes, and their specific sociolinguistic contexts.

Before further elaborating on this and related points, let us first discuss the terms "model," "standard," and "norm" as these are used with reference to English.

MODEL, STANDARD AND NORM

These three terms are generally used as synonyms in literature related to language pedagogy or in prescriptive texts on pronunciation and usage. In language evaluation these terms refer to proficiency in language acquisition, and attitudinally they indicate acceptance in certain circles.

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[3]A selected bibliography on this topic is given in Kachru 1976 and 1982a, and in Smith 1981.

In the case of *non-native* speakers of English, when we talk of a norm the underlying supposition is of conformity with a model based on the language used by a segment of the native speakers. The language use of this segment attains the status of a preferred norm for mainly extralinguistic characteristics (for example, education, class, and status).

In English the prescribed norm does not refer to the use by a majority. The motivations for such a preferred norm stem from pedagogical, attitudinal, and societal reasons, and are not due to any authoritative or organized move for codification, as is the case with some other European and non-European languages.

WHAT ARE THE NORMS FOR ENGLISH?

The imposed norms for English lack any overt sanction or authority; whatever norms there are have acquired preference for social reasons. These are indirectly--or sometimes directly--suggested in dictionaries of English, in pedagogical manuals, in preferred models on television and radio, in job preferences when a particular variety of language is attitudinally considered desirable by an employer, whether it is a government agency, private employer, or a teaching institution. It is through such imagined or real societal advantages of a norm that parents develop their preferences for the type of instruction their children should get in the school system. The case in point is Black English in the United States. On linguistic (or logical) grounds one cannot consider it a *deficient* variety (see, for example, Burling 1973 and Labov 1970) but due to attitudinal reasons at present, it certainly restricts access to the cherished spheres of activities which all enlightened parents want their children to enter and succeed in. The same is true of various local varieties of British English. It is thus a belief shared by the members of a speech community that adherence to a certain preferred norm provides advantages for mobility, advancement, and status. In Britain, what are called "public" schools became the centers fostering adherence to such norms, and conscious efforts were made there to cultivate and preserve them.

The lack of an organized agency for language codification did not dampen the enthusiasm of the proponents of such norms for English. It is a fact--and a well-documented one (see, for example, Heath 1977, Kachru 1981b, Kahane and Kahane 1977, Laird 1970)--that the "guardians of language" failed to provide such codification as has been provided by the Academies for French, Spanish, Italian, or, more recently, Hebrew. It was, however, not for want of such effort. Attempts to establish an academy for the standardization of English were made on both sides of the Atlantic in the eighteenth century, just sixty years apart. In 1712, Jonathan Swift wrote an often-quoted letter to "the Most Honourable Robert, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain," outlining "A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue." The proposal was both a complaint and a plea:

> My Lord; I do here, in the Name of all the Learned and Polite Persons of the Nation, complain to your Lordship, as *First Minister*, that our Language is extremely imperfect; that its daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily Corruptions; that the Pretenders to polish and refine it, have

> chiefly multiplied Abuses and Absurdities; and, that in many Instances, it offends against every part of Grammar.

What did Swift have "most at Heart?" He wanted codification with the aim "that some Method should be thought on for *ascertaining* and *fixing* our Language for ever, after such Alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite." The persons undertaking this task "will have the example of the French before them, to imitate where they have proceeded right, and to avoid their mistakes." The proposed goal then would be to provide linguistic watch-dogs (Swift; reprinted 1907:14-15):

> Besides the grammar part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will observe many gross improprieties, which, however authorized by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded. They will find many words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long since antiquated, which out to be restored on account of their energy and sound.

The second such proposal, submitted by John Adams, came before the Continental Congress of another major English-speaking country, the United States, in 1780. This proposal, somewhat more precise than its predecessor, asked for a "public institution" for "refining, correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English language" (1856:VII:149-50). This proposal is almost an echo of Swift's. Swift's proposal did not go too far due to Queen Anne's death, and Adam's proposal was disapproved, as Heath states (1977:10), since "the founding fathers believed the individual's freedoms to make language choices and changes represented a far more valuable political asset to the new nation than did a state decision to remove these freedoms from the individual." It was therefore "a policy not to have a policy."

In retrospect, the failure to establish such an academy for English had its advantages. Since there was no authorized establishment for linguistic codification, no organized resistance to a norm could develop. It is not so easy to fight against the subtle and psychologically effective means of codification which were used for establishing a norm for English.

One might, therefore, say that each identifiable native variety of English can provide a norm for English. The identification may be in terms of some characteristic formal features which are realized in pronunciation, lexicon, or grammar. These features may then be associated with the localized variety of English. In linguistic terms, one may identify the *Americanness* in American English: and in a geographical (political) sense, one might use terms such as "Canadian English" or "Australian English." One is, of course, aware of further subvarieties within these broad categories. The natively spoken varieties are the following: American (182 million); Australian (13 million); British (55 million); Canadian (13 million); and New Zealand (3 million).

But in reality the question is not that simple. The native varieties of English also have a long history of debate concerning the desirability of having an exo-normative (external) or an endo-normative (local) model. This controversy developed into a fascinating debate in, for example, America (see, for example, Kahane and Kahane 1977, Mencken 1919), and is of specific interest to a student of language loyalty and language attitudes. Once that controversy

was settled there remained two main models (norms): Received Pronunciation (RP), and General American (GA) English.

These models gained currency for two reasons. Attitudinally, the prestige of the speakers of such varieties resulted in their emulation by others. Pedagogically, they served as two well-documented models of pronunciation. In the works of, for example, Jones for RP, and Kenyon for GA (see also Krapp 1919), we have earlier valuable manuals and descriptions of pronunciation and dictionaries.

Received Pronunciation has alternately been termed "BBC English" (standing for the British Broadcasting Corporation), "educated English," and "public school English." (The term "public school" has to be understood here in a typical British sense, where it traditionally means a "private" school.) "Public schools" refers to the old typically British institutions which, as Abercrombie says (1951:12), "are themselves unique." Received Pronunciation is by and large acquired unconsciously, therefore, as Abercrombie observes, "there is no question of deliberately teaching it." (See also Gimson 1967 and Ward 1929.) It has, however, been treated as the main pedagogical norm for the *export* variety of British English, especially for tapes and records, and pronunciation manuals used in the classrooms.

But the status of this accent, and the term used for it, have been controversial. The "social judgment" which gave it a predominant position and prestige is being also challenged now--after all, it had no official status. However, RP was considered a proper and desirable "accent" for government assignments and diplomatic services, and it was widely used by the ubiquitous BBC. But within the changed British context Abercrombie (1951) has provided three valid arguments against RP. First, recognition of such a standard variety is "an anchronism in present-day democratic society" (p. 14). Second, it provides an "accent bar" reimiscent of the color-bar, and "to many people, on the right side of the bar, it appears eminently reasonable" (p. 15). Lastly, it is also debatable whether RP represents "educated English," since RP speakers are "outnumbered these days by the undoubtedly educated people who do not talk RP" (p. 15).

On the other side of the Atlantic, the use of "General American" is misleading, since the term covers parts of the United States and most of Canada. GA is spoken by 90 million people in the central and western United States and Canada. Kenyon's motivations for describing GA were almost opposite to those of his British predecessor Jones. As I have stated elsewhere (Kachru 1982e:34), Kenyon is "conscious of the harm done by the elitist, prescriptivist manuals for pronunciation," and his concern is that "we accept rules of pronunciation as authoritative without inquiry into either the validity of the rules or the fitness of their authors to promulgate them" (1924:3). He is, therefore, attacking the shibboleth of correctness, the validity of prescriptive "judgments" and "advice" concerning pronunciation. He rightly believes that the underlying cause for such judgments is that people tend to be influenced by "certain types of teaching in the schools, by the undiscriminating use of textbooks on grammar and rhetoric, by unintelligent use of the dictionary, by manuals of "correct English," each with its favorite (and different) shibboleth" (1924:3).

Kenyon clearly expresses the evident disparity between linguistic norm and behavior and he rightly asserts that "probably no intelligent person actually expects cultivated people in the South, the East, and the West to pronounce alike. Yet much criticism, or politely silent contempt, of the pronunciations of cultivated people in other localities than our own is common" (1924:5). In his view--perhaps too simplistic--the remedy for such an attitude is the study of phonetics, since a student of phonetics "soon learns not only to refrain from criticizing pronunciations that differ from his own, but to expect them and listen for them with respectful, intelligent interest."

What, then, is the generally accepted norm for English? There are several ways of answering this multifaceted and attitudinally loaded question. Ward (1929:1) has taken one extreme position concerning a standard when she says, "no one can adequately define it, because such a thing does not exist." It is clear that Daniel Jones would not necessarily agree. Strevens (1981:8) answers this question very differently. In his view, in the case of English, "standard" does not mean "imposed," or a language which is "of the majority." He believes that an interesting aspect of Standard English is "that in every English-using community those who habitually use *only* Standard English are in a minority: over the global population of English-users mono-dialectal Standard English users are in a very small minority" (1981:8). The situation seems to be that "the phenomenon of Standard English exists and maintains itself without any conscious or coordinated programme of standardization" (p. 8).

In spite of these positions, the dictionaries and manuals do indicate preferred pronunciation, or use of certain grammatical forms and lexical items. The "minority" use in such cases does not necessarily refer to the numerical use, but may refer to preference in attitudinal terms, too. A frequent usage is not always the usage which is attitudinally or socially accepted.

Teaching materials and teacher training programs do not generally present a "linguistically tolerant" attitude toward non-native localized varieties, or toward the speakers of varieties which are considered different from the "standard" varieties. In the United States, as mentioned earlier, one notices this attitude toward Black English (or other ethnic Englishes). In Britain such an attitude has traditionally been present toward the speakers of regional varieties. Therefore, it is not only the non-native users of English who suffer from this attitude.

NORM FOR NON-NATIVE ENGLISHES

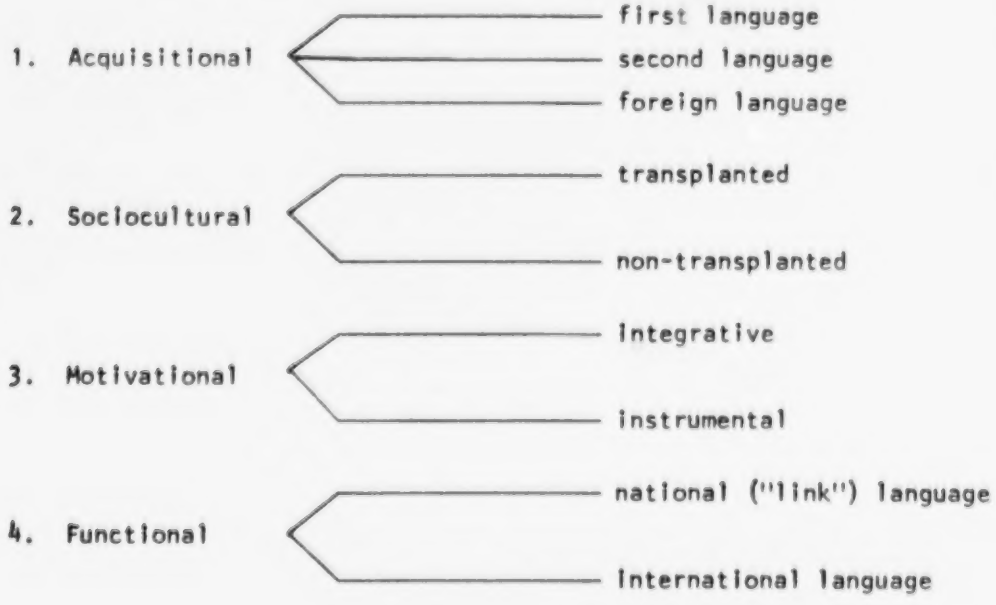
The historical development of non-native varieties of English is closely related to colonization. Attitudinally, the colonizers' English became the preferred norm once English was introduced in the linguistic network of a country. But actually, the "norm" provided by the representatives of the Raj was not always the "standard" variety of English. In a number of cases, English teachers were not even native speakers of language, especially in convent schools, or in other missionary establishments using Belgian, French, or Irish teachers. (The native speakers were very rarely RP speakers; for instance, a significant number of them came from Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.)

We thus have, broadly speaking, two models for non-native Englishes. The largest population of non-native English speakers considered British English as their model in large parts of Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. On the other hand, American English served as a model where American influence reached due to colonization (the Philippines, see, for example, Llamzon 1969, Samonte 1981; Puerto Rico, see, for example, Zentella 1981), due to trade and commerce (for example, Japan, see Stanlaw 1982), or due to geographical proximity and other impact (for example, Mexico, Cuba, or other parts of Latin America).

There was, however, a mythical quality about the native models. In reality, it is doubtful that one homogeneous model was every introduced in the colonies. Colonial administrators, teachers, and military personnel provided a confusing spectrum of varieties of English. Thus the native speakers of English never formed more than a fraction of English instructors in a majority of the colonies; certainly in South Asia their numbers were insignificant, and their impact on the teaching of English was negligible.

TYPES OF NON-NATIVE ENGLISHES

The varieties of non-native Englishes cannot be presented in terms of a misleading and unrealistic native versus non-native dichotomy. An earlier study (Kachru 1982d:37) has suggested that one must consider these varieties in the following four contexts: *acquisitional*, *sociocultural*, *motivational*, and *functional*. A further division is possible; for example,



In literature another well-motivated distinction has already been introduced (see Catford 1959, Halliday et al. 1964) between the *first*, *second*, and *foreign* language varieties of English (see also Kachru 1982a). Alternately, the second and foreign language varieties have been termed the *institutionalized* and

performance varieties (see particularly Kachru and Quirk 1981, Kachru 1981 and 1982e). This is an important distinction, since it brings us to the question of exo-normative (external) and endo-normative (local) standards for the non-native Englishes.

A non-native variety generally acquires an identity in terms of political boundaries (e.g., *Indian* English, *Lankan* English, *Kenyan* English) or in terms of a larger geographical area (e.g., African English, South Asian English, or Southeast Asian English).[4] The identificational labels of the first type (Indian, Lankan) which provides clues to the political boundaries are not necessarily instructive. The impression of divisiveness in world Englishes which such labels present is actually not present in real life contexts. The variety-marking clues are determined, by and large, by the underlying linguistically and culturally shared characteristics of an area. In this sense, then, terms such as "African English" or Africanization (see Bokamba 1982) or South Asianization (see Kachru 1919 [1978] and 1982b) are more appropriate. But these terms, too, are useful only to the extent that they provide insights about the shared characteristics at various levels within various regional varieties. They are only as reflective of the true situation as are the terms "American English" or "British English." They mask the linguistic heterogeneity within a region, and to some extent they serve to reassure those who are alarmed by what is considered the divisiveness within the English speech community.

We then have, on the one hand, a "standard" or "educated" variety for a larger region, and within it several sub-varieties. There is thus a cline in bilingualism in English (Kachru 1965). Sub-varieties are identifiable on the basis of region, ethnic identity, education, function, etc. In each region we have studies identifying such sub-varieties, e.g., in Nigeria (Bamgbose 1982), Kenya (Zuengler 1982), India (Schuchardt 1891 [1980], Kachru 1969 [1978] and 1983), Singapore and Malaysia (Platt and Weber 1980, Wong 1981, Tay and Gupta 1981), and the Philippines (Llamzon 1969 and 1981).

A speaker of a non-native variety may engage in a variety-shift, depending on the participants in a situation. An educated Indian English speaker may attempt to closely approximate a native English model while speaking to an Englishman or an American, but switch to the localized educated variety while talking to a fellow Indian colleague, and further Indianize his English while communicating with a shopkeeper, a bus conductor, or a clerk in an office. These are thus degrees of approximation to a norm, depending on the context, participants, and the desired end result of a speech act.

The concept of cline in non-native varieties of English has been recognized for almost a century now (see, for example, Schuchardt 1891 [1980]), and has been illustrated in various studies (for example, for South Asian English see Kachru 1965 and later; for a general bibliography see Kachru 1983 and 1982d). Strevens (1977:140-141) sums up the situation well with references to Indian English:

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[4]For further discussion, see Kachru 1982c and "Introduction: The Other Side of English" in 1982e.

> The Indian (Pakistani) doctor who communicates easily in English with professional colleagues at an international medical conference is using a type of "Indian English"...in which Standard English dialect is spoken with a regional accent. The Indian clerk who uses English constantly in his daily life for communicating with other Indians, by correspondence or telephone, may employ an "Indian English" in which the dialect is not Standard English and the accent is regional or local. The lorry-driver who uses English occasionally, as a lingua franca, may be using an "Indian English" which is for all practical purposes a pidgin. It is the second of these three examples which constitutes the typical "Indian English" and which frequently attracts the criticism of the teaching profession. But is criticism justified? The ultimate test of effectiveness of a variety of language is whether it meets the communication needs of those who use it. Clearly, "Indian English" of this second type would not be adequate for the professional man to communicate with an international audience, but it probably does serve local needs well enough, just as all local dialects and accents do. (See also, Kachru 1981a.)

It is difficult to say how many people use various types of Englishes (say, as standard localized varieties or pidgins) as non-native varieties across cultures and languages. One has no reliable way of knowing it since English is learned around the world in unimaginable situations. On the one hand, people learn it in "English teaching shops" in bazaars from people who can hardly use the language. On the other hand, those who have resources learn English from highly accomplished teachers in ideal language learning situations. Whatever the actual statistics, the number of English-knowing bilinguals is fast increasing, and English has already acquired the status of a universal language (see Kachru 1981b). This status has been gained essentially due to the use of English in non-native contexts. The spread of English continues to increase, and this spread is now controlled by its non-native users; it is their initiative which is planning and coordinating the role of English in the developing world. The following figures give some idea about the demographic distribution of English around the world. But these figures exclude a large number of users who are not enrolled in traditional educational establishments.

Enrollment in English as a Second Language

Area	Students (millions)	Area	Students (millions)
India	17.6	South Korea	1.8
Philippines	9.8	Pakistan	1.8
USSR	9.7	Kenya	1.7
Japan	7.9	Ghana	1.6
Nigeria	3.9	Brazil	1.6
Bangladesh	3.8	Egypt	1.5
Republic of South Africa	3.5	Quebec	1.5
West Germany	2.5	Thailand	1.3
Malaysia	2.4	Taiwan	1.2
France	2.4	Sri Lanka	1.2
Indonesia	1.9	Netherlands	1.1
Mexico	1.9	Iran	1.0
		Tanzania	1.0

SOURCE: Gage and Ohannessian 1974.

DEVELOPMENT OF LOCALIZED NORMS

One cannot precisely trace the various historical phases involved in the development of localized models for English. Instead, one must trace the changing attitudes toward such varieties. It is more likely recognizing the presence of a linguistic behavior, which was there all along, but which attitudinally lacked status. The Indians, the Africans, the Malays, or the Filipinos have struggled with this myth and reality since English first became part of their educational system and linguistic repertoire. University teachers generally defended the exo-normative standard, often not realizing that they themselves used and taught to their students a transparent local accent. More important, the ever-present localized innovations in lexis and grammar (e.g., Africanisms, Indianisms) gradually gained currency.

But then, the conflict in attitudes toward local varieties was also always present. Therefore, when we discuss the development of a model we are not focussing on the distinct stages through which a norm passes before it gains some kind of ontological status. These attitudinal stages have been presented in Kachru (1982a), and we shall briefly summarize them here with a note of warning. These stages are not clear-cut and mutually exclusive; they are primarily related to the extent of the diffusion of bilingualism, and to the institutionalization of a variety. The first stage seems to be non-recognition of a localized variety, and clear indifference to it. This is followed by a stage in which the localized variety is recognized (e.g., Indian, Lankan, Kenyan); but it is always the *other* person who uses it. Again, there is clear disparity between the norm and behavior. The third stage shows a reduction in such an attitude. A controversy develops between the defenders of the localized variety and those who prefer a exo-normative standard (see Kachru 1982a:39-40). This is clearly evident in the following study of Indian English users.[5] The study is based on a questionnaire given to 700 undergraduates and 196 faculty members at major universities in India. In Tables 1 and 2 percentages do not sum to 100 percent since the numbers are based on the total sample, whether or not respondents answered these questions. In the final stage, teaching materials for English are prepared with nativized contexts; English is not used just with an integrative motivation involving another culture, but essentially as an instrument for exposing students to their own culture. It is like turning an "external" language around for an "inward" look. The "window on the world," or "library language," becomes a window on one's own culture, history, and traditions. Furthermore, the variety develops its own nativized registers and is used in imaginative or creative contexts (see Kachru 1981a, 1982c and 1983), albeit by a small group of people. In this sense, English becomes part of the local literary and cultural traditions (see, for example, Sridhar 1982).

NORM AT VARIOUS LEVELS

The term "norm," as is generally discussed in literature, does not apply only to the phonetic/phonological levels. A language user may reveal his variety by lexical, grammatical, or discoursal features. However, the largest number

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[5]For further details about the sample and method used for this pilot study, see Kachru 1975a, 1976.

Table 1. Indian Graduate Students' Attitude toward Various Models of English and Ranking of Models According to Preference

Model	Preference		
	I	II	III
American English	5.17	13.19	21.08
British English	67.60	9.65	1.08
Indian English	22.72	17.82	10.74
I don't care		5.08	
"Good" English		1.08	

Table 2. Faculty Preference for Models of English for Instruction

Model	Preference		
	I	II	III
American English	3.07	14.25	15.64
British English	66.66	13.33	1.53
Indian English	26.66	25.64	11.79
I don't know		5.12	

Table 3. Graduate Students' Self-Labeling of the Variety of their English

Identity marker	%
American English	2.58
British English	29.11
Indian English	55.64
"Mixture" of all three	2.99
I don't know	8.97
"Good" English	0.27

SOURCE: Kachru 1976:230-232.

of attitudinal comments--or displays of intolerance--concern pronunciation (generally discussed in terms of the "accent" of a person). It is this aspect of use which is discussed in various manuals. The variety's lexical, collocational, grammatical, and discoursal features are often looked upon as "mistakes." This aspect has been discussed in several studies, and I shall not reiterate it here (see Kachru 1982b).

In linguistic literature, it was in the 1960's that attention was first drawn to the distinction between a "mistake" and a "deviation" in the context of non-native Englishes. (For references and discussion, see particularly Kachru 1982a.) The deviation at various levels is directly related to the degree of nativization (see Kachru 1981a and Kachru and Quirk 1981). The attitude toward nativization is determined by the extent of institutionalization of a variety; the institutionalization, in turn, depends on the *range* and *depth* of a variety in a particular context. The "range" of a variety refers to its extension into various cultural, social, educational, and commercial contexts. The greater the range of functions, the more subvarieties a variety develops. The term "depth" relates to the penetration of bilingualism into various strata of society.

The attitude toward variety-specific characteristics (for example, lexical and grammatical; see Smith 1981; Kachru 1982d,e; Bailey and Görlach 1982) is to a large extent determined by whether a variety is used as a first or a second language. Labeling a word or a formation an Americanism, Australianism, or Canadianism is one way of characterizing it as deviant from "mother English." The history of attitudinal conflict even toward the native transplanted varieties is fascinating, and has been discussed in a variety of popular and scholarly works.[6] The case of institutionalized non-native varieties has been much more difficult. Any deviation in such varieties has been termed a "mistake" or an "error." The "native speaker" has traditionally determined the extent of acceptable deviation, both linguistic and contextual. (Because I have discussed this point with illustrations in several earlier studies, for example, Kachru 1965 and later, I shall not dwell on it here.)

It is clear that, for English, the concept of "native speaker" had doubtful validity.[7] Since English is used across cultures and languages in a multitude of international and intranational contexts, the "deviations" must be seen in those functional contexts. This, then, leads us to another question which is

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[6]See, for discussion and references, among others, Finegan 1980, Heath 1977, Kahane and Kahane 1977, Kachru 1982e, Mencken 1919.

[7]Note for example, C.A. Ferguson's observation (in Kachru 1982e:vii) "Linguistics, perhaps especially American linguists, have long given a special place to the "native speaker" as the only truly valid and reliable source of language data, whether those data are the elicited texts of the descriptivist or the institutions the theorist works with. Yet much of the world's verbal communication takes place by means of languages which are not the user's "mother tongue," but their second, third, or nth language...In fact, the whole mystique of native speaker and mother tongue should probably be quietly dropped from the linguists' set of professional myths about language."

crucial for understanding the relationship of the localized (or regional) varieties and the norm: What are the motivations for deviations?

The deviations in localized non-native varieties cannot in every case be characterized as linguistic aberrations due to acquisitional inadequacies. That rash generalization would miss serious underlying reasons for such innovations and would thus imply negating the context in which a language functions. The acculturation of a variety occurs over a period of time in a distinctly "un-English" context.[8] (A number of such case studies have been presented in Kachru, ed., 1982c.) The English language has now ceased to be a vehicle of Western culture; it only marginally carries the British and American way of life. In 1956, the British linguist J.R. Firth, correctly observed (Firth 1956 in Palmer 1968:97):

> ..."the study of English", is so vast that it must be further circumscribed to make it at all manageable. To begin with, English is an international language in the Commonwealth, the Colonies and in America. International in the sense that English serves the American way of life and might be called American, it serves the Indian way of life and has recently been declared an Indian language within the framework of the federal constitution. In another sense, it is international not only in Europe but in Asia and Africa, and serves various African ways of life and is increasingly the all-Asian language of politics. Secondly, and I say "secondly" advisedly, English is the key to what is described in a common cliche as "the British way of life."

English is, thus, a medium which, in its various manifestations--East and West--results in cultural adaptations. In South Asia it connotes the Indian, Lankan, or Pakistani ways of life and patterns of education and administration. The nativized formal characteristics acquire a new pragmatic context, a new defining context, culturally very remote from that of Britain or America. I have provided a number of illustrations in various studies (see Kachru 1965 and later; particularly 1982b) in which deviations have been related to the "social meaning" of the text peculiar to the culture in which English is used as a non-native language. I am taking the liberty of quoting the relevant parts below (1982b:329-330).

> In terms of acculturation, two processes seem to be at work. One results in the deculturation of English, and another in its acculturation in the new context. The latter gives it an appropriate identity in its newly acquired functions. The Indians have captured the two-faceted process by using the typical Sanskrit compound dvija ("twice-born") for Indian English. (The term was originally used for the Brahmins who, after their natural birth, are considered reborn at the time of caste initiation.) Firth (1956: in Palmer 1968:96) therefore is correct in saying that "an Englishman must de-Anglicize himself"; as must, one could

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[8]See Kachru 1965 and later for discussion of this phenomenon in the case of South Asian English; for African English, see Bokamba 1982 and Chishimba 1981.

add, an American "de-Americanize" himself, in their attitudes toward such varieties, and for a proper appreciation of such acculturation of Englishes (see Kachru 1983).

This initiation of English into new culturally and linguistically dependent communicative norms forces a redefinition of our linguistic and contextual parameters for understanding the new language types and discourse types. Those who are outside these cultures must go through a variety shift in order to understand both the written and the spoken modes of such varieties. One cannot, realistically speaking, apply the norms of one variety to another variety. I am not using the term "norm" to refer only to formal deviations (see Kachru 1982a); rather, I intend to refer to the underlying universe of discourse which makes linguistic interaction a pleasure and provides it with "meaning." It is the whole process of, as Halliday says, learning "how to mean" (1974). It is a very culture-bound concept. To understand a bilingual's mind and use of language, one would have, ideally, to be ambilingual and ambicultural. One would have to share responses to events, and cultural norms, and interpret the use of L2 within that context. One would have to see how the context of culture is manifest in linguistic form, in the new style range, and in the assumptions one makes about the speech acts in which L2 is used. A tall order, indeed!

This redefined cultural identity of the non-native varieties has not usually been taken into consideration. There have been primarily three types of studies in this area. The first type forms the main body--understandably so, since these are devoted to pedagogical concerns. In such studies, any deviation has been interpreted as violating a prescriptive norm, and thus resulting in a "mistake." The urge for prescriptivism has been so strong that any innovation which is not according to the native speaker's linguistic code is considered a linguistic aberration. If one makes too many such "mistakes," it is treated as an indication of a language user's linguistic deprivation or deficiency. Second, some linguistic studies focus on formal characteristics without attempting to relate them to function, or to delve into the contextual needs for such innovations. This separation between use and usage has masked several sociolinguistically important factors about these varieties. The third group of studies deals with the "contact literature" in English, perhaps used on the analogy of "contact languages." Such literature is a product of multicultural and multilingual speech communities, and it extends the scrope of English literature to "literatures in English." Most such studies are concerned with the themes, rather than with style. (For further discussion, see, e.g., Sridhar 1982.)

NORM VS. INTELLIGIBILITY

One major motivation for having a norm is that it maintains intelligibility (see, Nelson 1982, Smith 1979)[9] among speakers of distinct localized varieties of

[9]A comprehensive list of references on this topic is given in Nelson 1982.

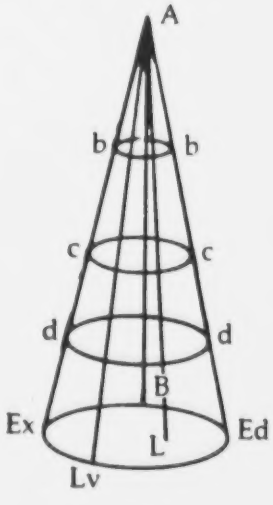
English. According to this view, a prescriptive norm is vital for communication. I believe there are at least three problems in using the concept of intelligibility with any rigor. First, although one always encounters this term in pedagogical literature and in studies on second language acquisition, unfortunately it is the least researched and least understood concept in cross-cultural and cross-linguistic contexts. Second, whatever research is available on the second-language varieties of English primarily focuses on phonetics, specifically on the segmental phonemes. The limitations of such research have been discussed by Nelson (1982). The interference in intelligibility at other levels, especially in communicative units (see, for example, Kachru 1982b) has hardly been understood. Third, in the case of English, we must be clear about who we have in mind when we talk of participants in a linguistic interaction. What role does a native speaker's judgment play in determining the intelligibility of non-native speech acts which have intranational functions in, for example, Asia or Africa? The variety-specific speech acts are vital for communication, as has been shown in Chishimba (1981) and various studies in Kachru (1982d,e). In international contexts certainly one might say that an idealized native speaker could serve as a model. But in the cases of institutionalized varieties, a *native* speaker is not a participant in the actual speech situation. Localized uses are determined by the context of each English-using country, and the phonetic approximation is only part of the language act. The nativized lexical spread and the rhetorical and stylistic features are distinctly different from those of the native speaker.

How many users of the institutionalized varieties use English to interact with *native* speakers of English? I have shown in another pilot study (Kachru 1976: 233) that, out of all users of Indian English, only a fraction have any interaction with native speakers of English. For example, among the graduate faculty of English in the universities and colleges I surveyed, 65.64 percent had only occasional interaction with native speakers, and 11.79 percent had no interaction with them. Only 5.12 percent of users claimed to have daily interaction with native speakers. I should, however, warn the reader that this survey was restricted to a highly specialized segment of the English-using population of India: professionals involved in teaching English at the graduate level (see Kachru 1975a and 1976). The results for those who are not involved in the teaching of English, especially at the graduate level, will be different. What, then, is the issue? The issue is more complex than has been presented in literature.

There can be no one "mononorm" approach to this concern. As is true with native varieties, the intelligibility of the (non-native) instutionalized varieties of English forms a cline. The intelligibility within the extended group depends on various sociolinguistic parameters of region, age, education, and social role. Ward (1929:5) gives some indication of the situation in Britain:

> It is obvious that in a country the size of the British Isles, any one speaker should be capable of understanding any other when he is talking English. At the present moment, such is not the case: a Cockney speaker would not be understood by a dialect speaker of Edinburgh or Leeds or Truro, and dialect speakers of much nearer districts than these would have difficulty in understanding each other.

This observation, made over half a century ago, is still valid. One might add that, given the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic pluralism of the United States, the situation has become even more complex there (see Ferguson and Heath 1981). Once we move to the second-language contexts of English in Africa, Asia, or the Pacific, the situation appears to be perplexing.



But there is a pragmatically refreshing side to all these situations. What appears to be a complex linguistic situation at the surface, in Britian, in America, in Africa, or in South Asia, is less complex if one attempts to understand it from another perspective. In his cone-shaped diagram (reproduced in Ward 1929:5), Daniel Jones has graphically shown that "as we near the apex, the divergences which still exist have become so small as to be noticed only by a finely trained ear" (Ward 1929:6). Ward rightly provides the argument of "convenience of expendiency" (p. 7), suggesting that "the regional dialect may suffice for these people who have no need to move from their own districts."

In this I find a clear case of parallelism between the native and institutionalized non-native varieties of English. The intelligibility is functionally determined with reference to the subregion, the nation, political areas within the region (e.g., South Asia, Southeast Asia), and internationally. True, educated (standard) Indian English, Singapore English, Nigerian English, or Kenyan English is not identical to RP or GA. It is different; it *should* be different. Do such educated varieties of non-native Englishes create more problems of intelligibility than does e.g., a New Zealander when he or she talks to a midwestern American?

In some situations, the markers of *difference* may establish a desirable identity. Such formal markers provide a regional and national identity and help in establishing an immediate bond with another person from the same region or country. The desire for retaining such markers has been well presented in the following observation by T.T. Koh, Singapore's Representative to the United Nations "... when one is abroad, in a bus or train or aeroplane and when one overhears someone speaking, one can immediately say this is someone from Malaysia or Singapore. And I should hope that when I'm speaking abroad my countrymen will have no problem recognizing that I am a Singaporean" (cited in Tongue 1974:iv). Almost half a century ago, the British linguist J.R. Firth (1930:196) presented the same idea in a wider context and in stronger words. He rejected "a shameful negative English" which "effectually masks social and local origin." He went a step further and considered such attempts "a suppression of all that is vital in speech."

ATTITUDES TOWARD LOCALIZED NORMS

Let us consider the attitudes of two distinct groups toward the localized norms of English. One group consists of the *native* speakers of English who traditionally have been considered crucial for such judgment. The attitude of this group is reflected in three ways, first, in the teaching materials produced for non-native users. Until recently, such texts attempted primarily to introduce

the reader to Western (British or American) culture; that is, however, slowly changing now. Second, one notices the native speaker's attitude in the books specifically written to train teachers of English as a second language. Such books make no attempt to show the institutionalization of English in other cultures, or to portray the non-Western contexts in which English is nativized. Third, practically no mention is made of the development of non-native English literatures, and of the uses one can make of this body of literature. In the discussion on English across cultures we find on the one hand the extreme position of, for example, Prator (1968), versus the position typified in Smith 1981 (see especially the introduction by Kachru and Quirk). The position presented in Smith (1981) or in Kachru (1982d) is still held only by a small group of people and does not represent the view of the profession.

The fact that non-native users of English have demonstrated no unified identity and no loyalty toward localized norms, does not, however, imply that there has been no serious thinking in this direction. One does notice a shift from earlier conflict between the actual linguistic behavior and the norm; attitudinally now there is a realization about the pragmatics of language use. The discussion is either directly related to the question, or is indirectly related to this issue. This debate, however, is not recent, rather, it started when the institutionalization of English was recognized, and the English language--in spite of the attitude toward the British raj--was being considered an important member of the local linguistic repertoire. In India, for example, the educator and a distinguished English scholar Amar Nath Jha, in 1940 said, almost with tongue in cheek,

> May I...venture to plead for the use, retention and encouragement of Indian English?...Is there any reason why we need to be ashamed of Indian English? Who is there in the United Provinces [Uttar Pradesh] who will not understand a young man who had enjoyed a *freeship* at college, and who says he is going to join the *teachery* profession and who after a few years says, he is engaged in *headmastery*? Similarly, why should we accept the English phrase *mare's nest*, and object to *horse's egg*, so familiar in the columns of *Amrita Bazar Patrika*? Why should we adhere to *all this* when *this all* is the natural order suggested by the usage of our language? Why insist on *yet* following *though* when in Hindustani we use the equivalent of *but*? Must we condemn the following sentence because it does not conform to English idiom even though it is literal translation of our own idiom? *I shall not pay a pice what to say of a rupee.* Is there any rational ground for objecting to *family members* and adhering to *members of the family*?...A little courage, some determination, a wholesome respect for our own idioms and we shall long have a virile, vigorous *Indian English*.

Dustoor (reproduced in Dustoor 1968:126; see also Kachru 1982c) makes a firmer claim by saying that "there will always be a more or less indigenous flavor about our English. In our imagery, in our choice of words, in the nuances of meaning we put into our words, we must be expected to be different from Englishmen and Americans alike."

We lack in-depth empirical studies concerning the opinions of teachers, students, and educators about an exo-normative standards. But educators in those

areas where English has been institutionalized (e.g., Africa, Asia, the Pacific) have commented on this question in asides, or in discussion of other issues related to the localized varieties. In Nigeria, Bamgbose (1971:41) clearly indicates that "the aim is not to produce speakers of British Received Pronunciation (even if this were feasible)...Many Nigerians will consider as affected or even snobbish any Nigerians who speak like a native speaker of English." In Ghana, an *educated* Ghanaian, is expected to speak, as Sey says (1973:1), the localized *educated* variety of English, and it does not mean, warns Sey, "the type that strives too obviously to approximate to RP..." An imitation of RP "is frowned upon as distasteful and pedantic."

In South Asia, one notices the same reaction to the imitation of exo-normative standards such as RP or GA. In the case of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) Passé comments (1947:33), "It is worth nothing, too, that Ceylonese [Sri Lankans] who speak 'standard English' are generally unpopular. There are several reasons for this: those who now speak standard English either belong to a favored social class, with long purses which can take them to English public schools and universities, and so are disliked too much to be imitated, or have rather painfully acquired this kind of speech for social reasons and so are regarded as the apes of their betters; they are singular in speaking English as the majority of their countrymen cannot or will not speak it...standard English has thus rather unpleasant associations when it is spoken by Ceylonese [Sri Lankans]." During the last half-century the tendency in Sri Lanka is more toward favoring the localized norm (see Kandiah 1981). In the Philippines, "Standard Filipino English" is "*the type of English which educated Filipinos speak and which is acceptable in educated Filipino circles*" (Llamzon 1969:15).

In such observations one notices that an unrealistic adherence to an exo-normative standard is clearly not attitudinally desirable. In most cases such discussions are specifically addressed to the spoken norm for English. Localized lexical innovations have always been recognized as legitimate and as a manifestation of nativization. (I have discussed this aspect in detail in Kachru 1973, 1975, and 1980.) But the nativization is not restricted to phonology and lexis. As stated in an earlier study (see Kachru 1982e:7), it also shows in "collocational innovation, in syntactic simplification or overgeneralization, and in the use of native rhetorical and stylistic devices. In short, nativization creates a new ecology for a non-native language. Who is to judge the appropriateness (or acceptance) of formations sich as *swadeshi cloth*, *military hotel* (non-vegetarian hotel), or *lathi charge* in the Indian context; *dumo drums*, *bodim bead*, *chewing-sponge*, or *knocking-fee* in the African context; and *minor-wife* in the Thai context?"

CONCLUSION

The question of norms for localized Englishes continues to be debated, though the tone is becoming more one of realism and less one of codification. Furthermore, the *educated* non-native varieties are now being increasingly recognized and defended, both on attitudinal and on pedagogical grounds. The national uses of English are being separated from the international uses, and the nativized innovations are not being considered as essential stylistic devices for non-native English literatures. One notices a shift of opinion toward considering such localized varieties *different*, not necessarily *deficient*.

One has to realize that there are several tendencies in the current spread of English. First, as stated earlier, perhaps English will soon have more non-native users than native users. The non-native users show a wide range of proficiency, almost ranging from ambilingualism to broken English. But functionally, each variety within a variety serves its functional purpose. Second, the planning for the spread of English is steadily passing into the hands of its non-native users. These users have developed their own norms which are not identical to the norms labelled RP and GA. In some cases the deviation from the native norm is the result of economic and other reasons, for example, a lack of good teachers, non-availability of teaching equipment and materials. Thus the British or American norm actually is never presented to students who are learning English. In other situations, the recognition of a localized norm is used as a defense mechanism to reduce the "colonial" and "Western" connotations associated with English. Such an attitude is one way of expressing what may be termed "linguistic emancipation." But that is only part of the story. There are other more significant reasons, too. First, this is how human languages seem to work. After all, the example of Latin is before us which eventually evolved into Romance languages. And, in spite of strict codification, Sanskrit has developed into numerous regional varieties in South Asia. Second, there is no doubt that the development of non-native literatures in English (contact literatures) have contributed to the "norm-breaking" trend in English around the world. The most interesting nativized innovations are the result of such contact literature.

The complex functions of English across cultures and languages make it very clear that whatever is said about it internationally will present only part of the picture. Therefore, the moral of the Eastern story of the elephant and the four blind men should serve as a warning: it should encourage us to undertake more empirical work across cultures to comprehend the totality. The type of research has yet to be initiated in a serious sense.

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